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NATO, COMMON MARKET PRESSURE

Portugal Feels the Heat

Premier Vasco Goncalves, a leading member of the leftist Armed Forces Movement, survived his first public debate with President Ford and other NATO leaders at the summit conference in Brussels, and now his pro-socialist government is trying to contend with the Common Market. Garrett Fitzgerald, president of the Common Market's Council of Ministers arrived in Lisbon June 2 to offer a badly needed aid package—with the stipulation that the Portuguese regime remain "democratic" that is, anti-communist with a "free" economy.

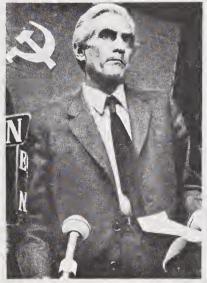
Suddenly, Portugal's leaders are finding themselves a center of U.S. and Western European attention. They are disturbed by the glare of publicity, the hostile press, and what they see in Washington, Bonn and other European capitals as a concerted effort to discourage and even undermine their development into a socialist, non-aligned nation. Within NATO the debate became, "How can we get rid of Portugal if it becomes communist-dominated?" In the Common Market, it was, "How can we keep Portugal open to capitalist trade and investment?"

Portugal was prepared for NATO's hostility. Premier Goncalves simply refused to be ostracized and he had a strong case: under the 1949 NATO charter there is no provision to expel a member nation. Furthermore, Goncalves stressed that NATO has nothing to fear from Portugal. He said his government wants to remain part of the alliance and pursue a neutral, independent foreign policy with ties to East and West. As if to underline this, Portugal's military leaders arrested May 29 as many as 500 members of the self-styled Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletariat after they staged a demonstration against NATO military maneuvers being held off the Portuguese coast. The government declared that the MRPP militants were rounded up for their "falsely revolutionary" activities and constant provocations against the Armed Forces Movement.

Speaking at the NATO plenary session May 20, Goncalves appealed for "more comprehension and less apprehension" about Portugal's political development. Later, he said it was strange that the same people expressing doubts about democracy in his country were those who had supported the previous fascist regime in Portugal and its colonial wars in Africa.

Despite Goncalves' assurances, Ford and Kissinger remain deeply suspicious of a communist takeover in Portugal. After a 45-minute session with Goncalves in Brussels, Ford cautioned that Portugal "must be watched with care and concern." Kissinger explained that Ford told the Portuguese leader that a communist-dominated Portugal would be "unfortunate" and "incompatible" with NATO and that the president does not want Portugal to become a "Trojan horse" inside the Western military alliance.

Other NATO and Common Market leaders, while sharing Ford's disapproval of Portugal's "socialist path," believe that Ford's abrasive rhetoric about the need to consider throwing





At odds: Communist leader Cunhal (left) and Socialist's Soares

HANOI DIARY

How North Vietnam Greeted War's End

Internews correspondent Linda Garrett was one of a handful of Americans who were in Hanoi on April 30 when the Provisional Revolutionary Government took power in Saigon. In the following report she describes the reaction in North Vietnam to the end of the war and her own experiences as an American in Hanoi during those historic days.

Hanoi, April 28

A sign along the road reads: "Thirty Year Struggle: 1945-1975." After 30 years of war, the people of Hanoi know that the end is near. In these final days before the collapse of the Saigon administration and the end of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, there is an air of expectation in the city. Everyone is eager for news from the south. At an exhibit near the hotel, large crowds are always gathered to see photographs from the newly liberated areas—photos from Hue, Da Nang, Pleiku, Nha Trang—names which most Americans associate with news reports of fighting during the past 10 years, but to many families in North Vietnam, those names represent homes, families and friends they haven't seen for decades. A journalist told me, "The people of Vietnam don't sleep much these nights. For example, my wife is very restless. We have two children in Saigon we haven't seen for 20 years."

Hanoi, May Day

Many people in Hanoi first heard the news of the surrender of the Saigon government at 10:00 a.m. on April 30, when firecrackers went off from the Ministry of the Interior, across

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Vietnam [continued from page 1]

the street from my hotel. Saigon Radio had announced [Pres. Duong Van] Minh's surrender, and an excited crowd gathered. Firecrackers began to go off everywhere. North Vietnamese and PRG flags appeared on many buildings, and there was a period of barely controlled anticipation as everyone waited for official word from the government . . .

By late afternoon, the streets were filled with people, everyone smiling, laughing, carrying small DRV and PRG paper flags. Police tried half-heartedly to control traffic. Lights and flags were hung from all the buildings and across the main intersections. The sounds of honking horns, music from loudspeakers and excited crowds could be heard all over the city. Trucks, cars, bicycles were decorated with flags and flowers. Many, many people shook my hand, hugged me.



Celebration in Hanoi streets May 1

I was overwhelmed by the attitude of people when I said I was an American. Not one of the many children, adults, soldiers, policemen, etc. whom I spoke to and said "My"—"I am an American"—expressed any hostility or discomfort. They were warm and friendly and completely open in their expressions of great joy. Much has been written about the Vietnamese understanding the difference between the American government and the American people, but it was difficult to believe before my visit here.

That evening, we talked with Hoang Tung, editor of *Nhan Dan* [North Vietnam's party paper]. "Our two countries will turn new pages in our history," he said. "We want a relationship of friendship, not of hostility between our two countries . . . The hostilities of several decades ended yesterday . . . We want to end the state of animosity."

On the Paris accords and the final days of the Saigon administration, he said:

"We very much wanted to end the war after signing the Paris Agreement and wanted to find a political way to carry on our struggle, even understanding that it would take more time-maybe five or ten more years. ... But Thieu's resignation and the U.S. departure came too late. By April 26, when Gen. Minh took power, several hundred thousand troops surrounded Saigon ... The last thing they had to do was to put the car in gear to reach Independence Palace. . . . If Ford had supported Minh last year ... the situation would have been different. The possibility of negotiations would have existed. The problem is that with Bien Hoa occupied and soldiers approaching Saigon, it was too late. This was the most humane way. If we count from March onwards, there were only 1,000 casualties on both sides . . . "

On May Day, the celebrations continued with thousands in the streets, more flags, and the announcement of the complete liberation of the south. The official national celebration will be announced later. The day ended with an enormous fireworks display in the park.

Outside the capital

Traveling in North Vietnam during the days just preceding and following the end of the war, one is immediately struck by several things: the jubilation of the people at the end of 30 years of fighting, the total absence of weapons, and the lack of hostility toward Americans from anyone—government officials, workers, children.

We visited Thai Binh province where 20,000 people gathered on May Day to celebrate the victory in the south. As in Hanoi, Haiphong and every village we passed through, flags and banners hung everywhere. Each village had a large painted map of the entire country, portraying the provinces and dates liberated, as well as photographs of Hue, Da Nang and other cities in the south.

Always we were surrounded by children, sometimes to the point where it was nearly impossible to move. They were not shy or intimidated by us, but neither were they aggressive or demanding the way gangs of children can be in many countries. They were friendly, curious and happy. They charmed us all, and it is impossible to imagine Hanoi or Thai Binh or Haiphong without children. It must have been very quiet in the cities during the years of evacuation.

May 15, Day of National Celebration

May 15 had been designated as the official national celebration. All week, preparations have been made—buildings painted, more flags, banners and lanterns

hung. Vietnamese rise early, but I hadn't expected a band to march by the hotel at 4:00 a.m. It did, and everyone in the city was awake and in the streets shortly after.

We left for the rally at 5:30 a.m. and drove through crowds of people walking and on bicycles to the National Stadium which could be seen from a distance because of hundreds of red and white balloons, red flags and banners floating above it. The stadium seats were filled and the entire field packed with thousands and thousands of people carrying banners and flags.



Victory Rally in Hanoi May 15

After the rally, the parade began, led by workers and women in *ao-dais* from the Women's Union. It included contingents of students, peasants, workers, athletes, cultural workers, Pioneers, representatives from all sections of Vietnamese life—marching, singing, waving, happy people.

The day closed with fireworks displays all over the city and celebrations continue today, May 16, as we drive through Hanoi for the last time to the airport.

Everywhere we went in North Vietnam, we were told to thank the American people for their assistance in ending the war. Vietnamese at all levels of the government expressed hopes for a new relationship with the American government. They would like many more visitors—not just Americans who have participated in the movement against the war, but all kinds of Americans.

It will be many years before Americans can understand why a small country like Vietnam was able to resist successfully the French and the Americans. Two reasons are clear. One is Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap's dictum that "political strength is the basis of military strength"—something the U.S. could never accept. The other is that the Vietnamese people have always understood very clearly why they were fighting, who they were fighting, and that their victory was certain.

Portugal [continued from page 1]

Portugal out of NATO is the wrong way to counter Portugal's move to the left. Privately, Western Europeans are saying that economic pressure is a far more sophisticated and effective way of determining the future development of Portuguese politics. And they are saying that the man to court is Socialist party leader Mario Soares who favors a kind of Western European social democracy in Portugal that leaves the country wide open to foreign investment.

Pursuing this economic strategy to keep Portugal from developing a genuine socialist economy, the Common Market dispatched its president Garrett Fitzgerald to Lisbon with the Market's baited economic assistance offer.

As a result, Portugal's radiocal military leaders-who developed their political ideas in the disastrous African colonial wars and still identify more strongly with the underdeveloped Third World than Europe-will have to make one of the most critical decisions in their 13-monthold revolution. They have put down several right-wing coup attempts in the past year in defense of their socialism. They have stood up to the NATO powers. They have begun to break the stranglehold that Portugal's wealthiest 70-80 families maintained over the economy-dissolving monopolies and nationalizing banks, insurance companies and key industries. But they remain untested in coping with the larger question of foreign capital and investment.

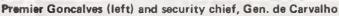
The Armed Forces Movement is in a relatively strong position to negotiate with the Common Market-although Portugal certainly is very much in need of aid. After weeks of political tension that threatened to split the coalition government, Portuguese military and civilian leaders are talking about compromise, reconciliation and maintaining a strong, united government. The Socialist party and the AFM have not resolved their basic conflict, but they have backed away from an all-out confrontation. Communist party leader Alvaro Cunhal is saying "there will be no communist regime" in Portugal for a long time, and Goncalves has announced that legislative elections will be held late next year.

The latest internal crisis in the Portuguese revolution reached its height when the Socialist party threatened to withdraw from the coalition government and the ruling Armed Forces Movement countered with a proposal to ban all political parties. The Socialists went so far as to boycott cabinet meetings until the mili-

tary responded to demands that it halt what the Socialists saw as a methodical Communist party takeover of the news media, trade unions and city governments. Socialist leader Mario Soares called his supporters into the streets the night of May 22 to protest the closing of the Socialist newspaper Republica and demonstrate that "the Portuguese people don't want a Communist dictatorship." Forty thousand people responded.

The AFM held an emergency 16-hour session of its 240-member assembly May 26 and criticized the Socialists for their boycott. Portugal's radical officers and





enlisted men felt that the Socialists were being unnecessarily divisive and were secretly hostile to the AFM's socialist program. But the assembly rejected a proposal by Major General Otelo de Carvalho, the head of the national security forces (COPCON) to abolish political parties as the only way to end political feuding.

Carvalho suggested that national unity and socialist development would be better served by a mass civilian movement organized into neighborhood and workplace committees and led by the Military. His proposal-which the Socialists condemned as a recreation of the soviets formed during the Russian revolutionhad significant support within the AFM, but the majority of leftist military leaders were not in favor of the plan. Instead, they voted to study further a plan to form a mass, independent network of popular committees that would coexist with the established political parties. This mass organization would be similar to the Committees to Defend the Revolution in Cuba and is supported by military men close to the Communist Party.

In the meantime, the Constituent Assembly elected last month is now meeting in Lisbon to draft a new constitution. On May 31 Premier Goncalves announced that a legislative assembly would be elected late next year under the new constitution. The Socialists, who won a commanding 38 percent of the April 25 vote

and dominate the current assembly, believe they can draft a constitution favorable to their interests and then go on to win political power in the legislative elections.

While they dominate the assembly—controlling 116 of 249 seats—the Socialists know that the AFM still runs the country and has ultimate say over whether or not the new constitution is approved. The AFM has already laid down guidelines for the consitution, saying that it cannot lead the country astray from the military's program of socialist development.

And the Socialists are also aware that the Communist party holds sway in trade unions and grassroots organizations. Tempered by 50 years of underground resistance to the fascist Salazar and Caetano regimes, the Communist party is the best organized, most cohesive political organization in the country. The party commands the loyalty of large sections of the working class—perhaps the majority in urban areas—and is firmly allied with the AFM.

The Communists have muscle and are playing a major role in the Portuguese revolution, but they in no way control the country. Alvaro Cunhal, the popular secretary-general of the party told a television interviewer June 1 that Portugal is still "very far away from communism." Cunhal is confident that Portugal will eventually become a communist country, but he said it must first pass through a "democratic revolution" and then socialism, and that for the forseeable future, Portugal will be governed by a broad coalition of popular forces. "We are living through a democratic revolution," Cunhal said, "beginning with changes in our economy and our society . . . we are taking the first steps toward socialism, and we are not even into socialism yet." He stressed that the emphasis in Portugal right now should be on salvaging a battered economy, increasing production and improving the standard of livingwhich is now the poorest in Europe.

FRANCO BOLSTERED BY FORD VISIT?

Prolonging the Reign in Spain

It's a "delicate thing," Ford Administration officials told the AP last week, to deal with the current Spanish government and try at the same time to anticipate the future.

Despite the delicacy of the situation, President Ford went from the NATO meeting in Brussels May 29-30 to Madrid for talks with the ailing Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco. NATO members thought Ford's trip to Spain at this time was ill-advised. Ford's visit was also strongly criticized by Franco's opponents in Spain—from middle class liberals to the underground Democratic Junta, composed of the Communist and Socialist parties and other leftist organizations. The critics charged that Ford's visit only served to bolster the Franco regime at a time when it is on the verge of collapse.

Ford and Kissinger's primary concern, however, is renewal of the U.S. base agreement with Spain that expires in September. At stake for the Pentagon are four U.S. bases, including the giant Torrejon air base near Madrid and the nuclear submarine base at Rota on the Atlantic seaboard. The administration considers the Spanish bases of increased importance since the leftist government came to power in neighboring Portugal last year, leading to restrictions and possible closing of the U.S. bases in the Azores.

Despite opinion polls showing that less than 20% of Spain's population approve the U.S. military presence, Franco has



Ailing General Franco and heir apparent Prince Juan Carlos

been demanding that the base agreement be upgraded to a mutual defense pact which would obligate the U.S. to defend Spain. The Ford administration reportedly has told Franco that Congress would never approve such an agreement, and has offered NATO membership for Spain as an alternative.

Ford pushed for inclusion of Spain in the Western Alliance at the Brussels meeting, but was sharply rebuffed. The Europeans have not forgotten that the generalissimo and his fascist Phalange party came to power in 1939 with the support of Hitler and Mussolini. NATO acceptance of Madrid is reportedly out until Franco is gone and there is a "liberalization" of political life.

Ford and Kissinger likely would prefer the continuation of the Franco regime to the political risks of a post-Franco Spain.

But with Franco's demise only a question of time, the Ford administration is hoping to keep the change in Spain within "acceptable" bounds-that is, to the right of the Portuguese government. They also apparently believe that whatever the liabilities of dealing with Franco, any government that follows him will drive a harder bargain for the bases-or reject the U.S. presence altogether. A post-Franco government, however, even a conservative one, may have to repudiate an agreement negotiated in the eleventh hour with the moribund Franco regime. The New York Times warned Ford May 28 that "by fawning on Franco, Washington is giving lasting offense to Spanish democrats and trading short-run gains-a new agreement on bases-for major trouble with those who will govern Spain after the generalissimo is gone."

Britain: Behind Common Market Vote

British voters went to the polls June 5 to cast their ballots in the first nationwide referendum in the country's history. As we go to press, the preliminary forecast is that the majority will favor Britain's continued membership in the European Common Market (EEC).

Since the results of the poll are not binding on the House of Commons, there is no likelihood that Harold Wilson's pro-EEC Labour government will attempt to pull the United Kingdom out of the Common Market. But to the left wing of the Labour Party, the Common Market debate has formally raised the issue of political "accountability"—the left objects to the powers of non-accountable, non-elected EEC bureaucrats over the economic life of Britain. In a sense, the debate has also raised the question of the Labour government's accountability to its own party.

While the Liberal and Conservative

parties have been relatively united in supporting Britain's continued membership in the Common Market (initiated by a Conservative government in 1971), Labour has been split-not so much down the middle as between top and bottom. Prime Minister Harold Wilson hoped to unify his party behind the EEC when he made his trip to Dublin last March to "renegotiate" the terms of Britain's membership. He did gain lower budget payments for Britain-amounting to savings of up to \$200 million per year in 1978-but the more fundamental issue of Britain's loss of sovereignty to non-elected EEC commissioners was not to be negotiated. In a cabinet vote following the Dublin renegotiations, however, the Labour ministers voted 16 to 7 in support of continued EEC membership.

A special Labour party conference was convened in London in late April, and more than a thousand party delegates cast

votes on behalf of more than five million party members. This Labour vote was overwhelmingly against EEC membership, with 3,724,000 opposed and only 1,986,000 in favor. Although pro-Market commentators were quick to note that the vote was heavily weighted by powerful blocs-such as the Transport and General Workers Union, whose delegates cast a million votes, the Washington Post noted April 27, "Nearly every political organization on which the Labour prime minister depends has rejected his advice to keep Britain in the nine [the EEC]. A majority of 'no' votes has now been recorded among Labour members of parliament, the Trades Union Congress and the party itself."

Wilson's cabinet was not bound by the party decision, and only seven of its members campaigned against the EEC prior to the June 5 vote. The dissident ministers hammered away at the EEC as

U.S., ISRAEL, BEHIND PHALANGISTS?

Lebanese Crisis Unresolved

As Lebanon's newly appointed prime minister Rashid Karami tried to form a cabinet last week, some semblance of normalcy returned to Beirut. Barricades and roadblocks went down, traffic returned to the main streets, and commerce was back in gear. But sniping, bombings and kidnapings provided a continuing reminder that Lebanon is in a state of uneasy calm at best—and stormy clashes could break out again at any moment.

The clashes of bloody April (see *IB*, no. 8) ended in a lull in early May. But Lebanon's deeper political crisis—between left and right, Moslem and Christian, friends and foes of the Palestine Liberation Organization—had triggered a chain reaction. By May 13 half the cabinet ministers of the last civilian government had resigned. Israel escalated its pressure on the divided nation with raiding parties crossing the southern border three nights in a row, and on May 16 Rashid Sohl—described in the press as Lebanon's third consecutive weak prime minister—handed in his own resignation.

Another outbreak of street fighting between Palestinian guerrillas and the private armies of the right-wing Christian Phalangists completed the vicious circle of military and political crises. The latest round began May 20, and within a week had claimed another hundred lives. In the midst of the heaviest fighting, President Suleiman Frangieh appears to have made a serious blunder by appointing a military

cabinet—the first in Lebanon's 32-year history as a republic—headed by retired Brigadier General Nureddin Rifai.

Since the military is widely regarded as a conservative force with a predominantly Christian officer corps, Moslem leaders were incensed over the appointment of a military government. Although General Rifai is himself a Moslem, the left-wing Moslems opposed him because of his past record as one-time head of internal security. Syria and the PLO also objected strongly to the military government, and after three days as prime minister Rifai returned to retirement.

Israel chose this moment to renew its military pressure on the southern border, but the Lebanese army scored at least a moral victory in repelling an Israeli patrol May 25. The timing of the raid, however, fueled speculation that the whole right-wing-inspired crisis was an elaborate plot backed by Israel and the CIA to drive the PLO out of Lebanon, intensify its internal factional conflict (as did the Jordan civil war of "Black September" 1970), and break the unanimity of Arabbloc support for the PLO.

In an interview published in the Christian Science Monitor May 27, former prime minister Saeb Salam said bluntly that "popular rumor" blames the CIA for the whole affair. "Personally, I do not believe that the CIA, despite their many blunders, could be so stupid," he continued. "But unfortunately, there is a



Barricades in Beirut

widespread belief, spread by some of the Phalangists themselves, that the Phalange has CIA and Israeli support in a bid to provoke civil war and partition Lebanon between the Christian and Moslem communities."

On May 28, Rashid Karami—a Moslem moderate—was appointed prime minister. Although Moslems in general preferred Karami to his military predecessor, his appointment is hardly a novel solution to Lebanon's traditional crisis: he has been prime minister nine times since 1954—including his 1958 appointment following the intervention by U.S. Marines when a similar Moslem-Christian crisis threatened civil war.

an abandonment not only of sovereignty but of Britain's democratic heritage. Employment Minister Michael Foot, an aging veteran of the Labour left, bluntly argues, "The Brussels Commission and the Council of Ministers is not a democratic system." Anthony Wedgwood Benn, the secretary of state for industry, goes farther, stating he "can think of no other body of men in the Western world who enjoy so much political power as the European commission enjoys over the lives of so many people, without a shred of direct accountability to those people for the use they make of their power."

Benn claims that EEC membership has cost Britain half a million jobs in its present unemployment crisis. He told the New York Times May 29 that the Common Market involves "the end of parliamentary democracy as our system of government and its substitution by a new written constitution with which we've never had any experience, which entrenches the market economy as its philosophy and lays down new insti-

tutions."

Many of the pro-EEC politicians and commentators accept Benn's argument in theory, but regard it as anachronistic in practice. The *Economist*, for example, wrote May 24, "The theoretical powers the anti-marketeers appeal to—particularly those allegedly vested in parliament—have already been whittled away by Whitehall [the executive branch of government] or fail to protect Britain against the real world economic order that it is living in."

Market foes consistently linked rising prices and unemployment in Britain to its EEC membership. *Tribune*, a weekly paper of the Labour left, on May 9 charged that the EEC recently blocked action by the British Steel Corporation which could shave prevented 20,000 layoffs in the steel industry.

The anti-market paper also compared costs of food imports between Britain's trading partners inside and outside the EEC (expressed in pounds sterling per ton):

	EEC	Non-EEC
Lamb	697.43	480.19
Butter	738.97	460.12
Cheese	868.81	397.29
Wheat	69.97	100.94
Maize	69.28	67.81
Sources:		

Overseas Trade Accounts

Pro-market observers contend that EEC subsidies (on sugar, for example) offset higher food prices on the commodities cited above.

Customs and Excise Tabulation Sheets

Two larger issues transcend the commodity-price controversies and unemployment debates. Will continued EEC membership result in Britain's increasing underdevelopment compared to France and Germany? And more immediately, will a pro-market referendum result strengthen the right wing of the British Labour party and isolate its left at a time of aggravated social tensions?

internewsroundupinternewsroundup

FOOD EXPERTS SEE CONTINUING CRISIS

The world food crisis that threatened to kill up to 20 million people in the past year was largely averted by short-term, food emergency food aid, but the crisis has not disappeared and for company peared and for some countries might be worse, according to food experts quoted by the New York Times June 3. The Times reports that "some agricultural experts say a number of countries may now be in greater peril of hunger, malnutrition and possible starvation than they were a year ago." The world's food reserves are dangerously low and the World Health Organization estimates that some 400 million people are suffering malnutrition.

"According to a confidential evaluation of the food supply situation around the world," the Times says, "shortages now exist in Bangladesh, Yemen, Somalia, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, and Mozambique and there is a danger of food shortage in Sri Lanka."

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization forecasts that world harvests will be 8% above last year's poor crop, but almost all of the increase will come from the United States and the Soviet Union.

While food experts generally credit the World Food Conference in Rome last November with stimulating food aid programs, they point out that the necessary sense of urgency has evaporated and that the U.S. in particular has not gone far enough in aiding the creation of a world grain reserve system and in contributing to an agricultural development fund proposed by oil producing and other Third World countries at the Rome conference.

A NEW MODEL FOR FASCISM?

A new model for fascism is emerging in Argentina, according to Leonard Weinglass, an American lawyer who recently visited Buenos Aires and Azul, where he tried to win the release of Olga Talamante, an American held in prison for nearly eight months under Argentina's state of siege laws. Weinglass, a defense attorney in the Pentagon Papers trial and the Chicago Conspiracy case, told Internews that the regime of Pres. Isabel Peron is systematically attempting to eliminate left-wing opposition -but prefers to work indirectly through right-wing terrorist groups like the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) to avoid direct repression and maintain a democratic appearance. The Triple A has claimed responsibility for the assassination of about 200 leftists and liberals and has terrorized many others into fleeing the country.

Weinglass learned from the Argentine Ministry of Interior that Olga Talamante (see IB Vol. 2 #4 & Vol. 1 #24) is scheduled to be detained indefinitely under an executive power measure after mid-July when the courts were reportedly prepared to release her. Talamante was arrested last November and accused of associating with a subversive group, the Montonero guerrillas. She charges that she was tortured during the first days of her imprisonment.

Weinglass, who met with U.S. ambassador Robert Hill, said that the U.S. embassy in Argentina and the State Dept. "seem to have made a choice in this case: to do nothing to embarrass the present government and as a result compromisecompromise badly-Olga's position." "Our only hope," Weinglass stressed, "is that Congress can be moved to pressure the embassy and the State Dept. to take more vigorous action to secure Olga's release."

THE WAR ENDS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

"We have seized power and taken full control . . . Greetings to the Provisional Revolutionary Government. We are waiting for **S.vietnam** your orders." This was the message sent by prisoners on the notorious Con Son prison island, May 1, 1975, the day after the PRG took control in Saigon.

Hanoi's army paper Quan Doi Nhan Dhan recently published an account of how the prisoners on the island staged a successful rebellion as the Saigon regime was collapsing. The uprising began on the night of April 30, when political prisoners learned of the liberation of Saigon from a hidden transistor radio. As the news spread through the camp, political prisoners staged a strike demanding their immediate release, and frightening several jailers into handing over the keys to the prison. By early morning, hundred of prisoners had formed into combat units and attacked the Saigon army barracks, aided by a guard platoon that mutinied. By late morning, the prisoners had seized the island's airport and several other military installations. Over 4,300 male and female inmates were held on the island at the time of the uprising, many of them in the tiger cage cells, which received international attention in 1970 when they were exposed by a congressional committee.

On May 5, the first ship landed at Con Son to begin ferrying prisoners to the mainland. A reporter described the prisoners: "All of them were emaciated and extremely pale. Some were so weak they had to frequently stop talking to catch their breath. Many had contracted tuberculosis or leprosy."



U.S. congressman discovers tiger cages Con Son Island prison 1970 (top). Women political prisoners freed from Con Son May 1975.



CRIMINALS TRAINED BY POLICE

The junta is training criminals at two detention camps to act as informers in slum neighborhoods where resistance continues to e the military regime. According to Prensa Latina news service, "the first 'graduating class' was released at the end of April, and is now active in Santiago, Valparaiso and Concepcion. The group is made up of 298 underworld elements under control of the civilian police force, which is part of the Defense Ministry." The program is being carried

out with advice from the National Intelligence Department, or DINA, the most feared branch of the junta's police apparatus.

The agents reportedly spent eight months at Pisagua detention camps and were later transferred to another camp at Chacabuco. On April 25, they were moved to Santiago in a heavily guarded army convoy and were placed in special cells at the main police headquarters. Three days later, Prensa Latina reports, they were released as "rehabilitated former delinquents." They have reportedly been given special ID cards to make sure they are not rearrested accidentally in the regular police dragnets. They must report every Monday and Friday to the police.

The report from Chile repeats a familiar pattern in South Vietnam, where common criminals were released from jail to work as agents for the CIA's Phoenix program, designed to uncover and destroy the infrastructure of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

SMITH FUELS FEARS OF CIVIL WAR

The groundwork for civil war is being laid in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), according to African observers who see little **rhodesia** chance for a negotiated transfer of power from Premier Ian Smith's white—minority regime to representatives of the 6-million strong African majority. The six—month stalemate in negotiations between Smith and the African National Council has created deep frustrations and anger which erupted June 1 in factional fighting within the ANC and in a violent police attack on black demonstrators. Police shot and killed 13 unarmed blacks and wounded 28 in what ANC president Bishop Abel Muzorewa called "cold-blooded murder." Muzorewa announced in New York that the ANC would never "be forced to negotiate by ultimatums, police dogs or massacres."

Enos Nkala, a spokesperson for the militant Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which favors continued guerrilla war against the Smith regime, rold reporters June 2 that a rival group, ZAPU, had tried to take over leadership of the ANC in Muzorewa's absence in order to arrange a settlement with the Smith regime. Nkala said the ANC has opposed all talks until Smith meets his obligations under the Dec. 7 Lusaka agreement, including the freeing of political prisoners.

Other events have heightened the tension in Rhodesia. Smith has repeated his unyielding opposition to majority rule. South Africa did not fulfill its private assurance to Zambia that it would withdraw its troops from Rhodesia by the end of May. And the new leftist FRELIMO government, set to take power in neighboring Mozambique on June 25, is expected to cut Rhodesia's trade routes to the sea.

NEW U.S. PRESS RESTRICTIONS?

A proposed new U.S. Federal Criminal Code includes provisions that could severely restrict the freedom of the press to print press articles such as those that disclosed the Pentagon Papers, the My Lai massacre, the Watergate scandals and domestic spying by the CIA. According to the New York Times May 28, under the proposed code, a reporter could "face Federal prosecution if he reported on something that the Government did not want made public. Furthermore the code would legalize for the first time the principle that the Government, and not the people, own Government information."

The proposed code states: "A person is guilty of an offense if, knowing that national defense information may be used to the prejudice of the safety or interest of the United States, or to the advantage of a foreign power, he communicates such information to a person who he knows is not authorized to receive it." Violation would be a felony, bringing up to \$100,000 fine and a 17-year prison sentence.

Nearly any type of information about the government that appears in the news media could be used to the advantage of a foreign nation or to embarrass the U.S. "Under the new code," says the *Times*, "an Administration could prosecute a newsman for reporting the details of something as ordinary as a highway construction program on the grounds that in a national emergency the new highway system would be used to transport troops."

The press restrictions are buried in the 750-page proposed Criminal Code, which is opposed by nearly every press organization, but which has broad support in the executive and legislative branches.

A GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTERNEWSITEMSIN

LATIN AMERICA: The founding meeting of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) will take place in six weeks in Panama City. (Prensa Latina 6/3) • BRAZIL: Brazil is on the verge of getting from West Germany the equipment and technical information to produce nuclear weapons, according to U.S. officials. (UPI 6/1) ● CHILE: The Andean Pact countries denied a request from the junta for a special meeting to modify the groups regulations to allow foreign investment in state companies. (PL 6/3) • OAS: A special meeting to consider voting procedures on lifting the Cuba blockade is scheduled for July 16-28 in Costa Rica. (Latin 6/3) PANAMA: Panama began directly exporting bananas this month, as the first step in a campaign to decrease its dependence on U.S. fruit companies such as United Brands. (PL 6/3) PORTUGAL: Former president Antonio de Spinola, now living in Brazil, visited the U.S. consultate to discuss possible plans to come to the U.S. (AP 6/2) • CYPRUS: The Cypriot government is working for the liquidation of all U.S. and British bases on the island, according to Pres. Makarios. (AP 5/27) ● CHINA: China is planning for the first time to send a high-level trade delegation to the U.S. (AP 6/2) • PHILIPPINES: Ferdinand Marcos, apparently overriding a supreme court decision prohibiting Americans to own land in the Philippines, issued a decree allowing certain U.S. citizens to retain their landholdings. (Los Angeles Times 5/28) • JAPAN: Japan has been boosting direct investments in Africa twice as fast as elsewhere, bringing total direct investment on the continent from \$15 million eight years ago to about \$290 million last year. (Christian Science Monitor 5/22) • SOUTH KOREA: Canada is pressing ahead with plans to sell a nuclear power plant to Seoul, despite concern that the technology might be used to build an atomic bomb. (CSM 6/2) ● AFRICA: Leaders of 15 African nations signed a treaty creating the largest single economic grouping in Africa-the Economic Community of West African States: (New York Times 5/29) ● NAMIB-IA: South Africa missed the May 31 deadline set by the United Nations to declare that it would end its illegal occupation of Namibia (Southwest Africa) and the Security Council is now debating what action to take against Johannesburg. (Agence France Presse 5/30) • IRAN: Iran has ordered 1,200 British tanks at a cost of about \$345 million. (LAT 5/27) • SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation talks between the U.S. and Soviet Union have been put off again, this time until late June. (LAT 5/28)

IF PRODUCER AND CONSUMER NATIONS CANNOT AGREE

Prices to Rise this Fall

The nine-month freeze on oil prices set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) expires in September, and unless some progress is made on negotiations between consumers and producers, oil prices are expected to rise again this fall.

When OPEC announced the freeze, which began January 1, it was with the expectation that progress would be made in negotiations between producers and consumers on energy and raw materials prices and that steps would be taken to protect the value of oil exports against inflation and depreciation of the dollar.

The most likely arena for such negotiations was the international conference of oil consumers, oil producers and other developing nations scheduled for this summer in Paris. But the conference broke down in the preparatory stages in April, after participants failed to agree on an agenda. Oil producers and other Third World countries insisted that oil prices must be linked to prices on other raw materials in any talks with the industrialized nations. This is part of their view that what is needed is a new world economic order. The U.S. strongly opposed this kind of linkage, insisting that talks focus exclusively on energy.

Secretary of State Kissinger appeared to reverse the hard-line U.S. position at the International Energy Agency meeting

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May 28. In a speech distributed to the press, he called for a new preparatory meeting which would include three commissions-one to talk about oil, the other two to discuss raw materials and development. But according to the New York Times and Wall Street Journal, in the revised version of the speech presented to the conference, Kissinger specified that only the oil talks would be substantive. The other commissions would merely monitor talks on raw materials and development taking place elsewhere.

Several Western European leaders praised Kissinger's proposal, feeling it could be the break they are looking for to get the energy talks going again. At least one delegate remarked that the revisions to Kissinger's test put the whole discussion back where it was in April when the preparatory conference broke down.

Kissinger's IEA speech followed his earlier comments in Kansas City on May 13 where he expressed a willingness to attend a new preparatory meeting and to consider international arrangements covering prices of raw materials on a "case by case basis." Commodity specialists interviewed by the New York Times commented that most of the producer countries "seek more than guaranteed prices ... They want in addition a guarantee against rising costs of manufactured goods imported from the industrialized lands, along with help in developing their own industries."

Kissinger called his proposal for a new preparatory meeting on all raw materials a "signal to developing countries that we are interested in their problems." Whether Third World nations will consider it a sufficient gesture is not yet clear. What is clear is that unless progress is made somewhere on price talks, oil prices will go up.

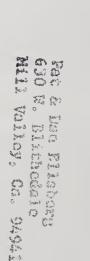
Saudi Arabia, the main opponent within OPEC of price increases, has indicated that unless concessions are made by industrialized countries, it will not hold out against a price hike in September. The Shah of Iran, appearing on "Meet the Press" last month, said that the OPEC countries have lost 35 percent of their purchasing power because of inflation and depreciation of the dollar. At the last OPEC session, he said, it was decided to "give the world a chance to curb their inflation." That period, he said, "will be terminated in September, so in September we are going to meet again and decide what to do." He said that oil prices would not go up by as much as 35 percent, but

added that "you can be sure that we will defend our interests."

Treasury Secretary William Simon responded by arguing that "the dollar is exactly where it was two years ago." The prices of goods imported by OPEC countries "went up about 24 percent in 1974," he said-not the 35 percent claimed by the Shah. And "about onethird of that 24 percent rise," he added, "can be traced right back to the earlier rise in oil prices."

Whatever its impact on domestic opinion, Simon's jawboning is likely to have little effect on OPEC. Unless there is some real negotiating, including progress in controlling the impact of inflation on the value of Mideast oil, a price increaseperhaps in the range of \$2 a barrel-is a near certainty this fall.

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